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ABSTRACT

This paper develops a theoretical framework for examining how families interact with the society under conditions in which the expectations for sex roles are changing. The difference between mandated and voluntary change is examined and the cost-benefit ratio to families for participating in the process of change is evaluated in different circumstances. Those social processes which support flexible sex roles are identified. The relevance of occupation participation to individual family options underlies the whole analysis. (Author)

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"The Interface of Family and Society in Sex Role Changes" (Emphasizing the Saliency of Occupation)

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Families ordinarily, make individual adjustments to the variety of social institutions with which they are linked. It is only when these adjustments appear to have negative consequences or lead to dysfuntion for a large number of people that interest turns to a serious examination of the interfaces involved. Currently in this society there are a number of areas in which family has come to mean controversy. In housing and education there is conflict over familial discretation versus state responsibility for equity in educational opportunity with the slogan "Forced Busing" indicating the fervor of the dispute. Religious groups perporting to represent families have challenged the curriculi in many communities in such diverse issues as sex education, choice of holidays to celebrate, and library content. Legislators have found such seemingly innocuous programs as day care to be highly charged topics in terms of what different groups thought the program meant for families and familial choice.

Each of these and other points of interface fell within the purpose of this discussion. However, for specific illustration of this network of ideas emphasis is placed on the pressures, changes, and dynamics of the interface between families and the economic institutions. It can be readily documented that this area of change has required action by most families in this society recently and currently.

Occupational Participation

Adult women are now normatively working outside the home. It cannot be seen as a deviant practice. About 13 million women in the labor force in March, 1973 had children under the age of 18 years; 4.8 million of these working mothers had children the age of six. The presence of young children in the family has a direct effect on the mother's labor force participation. Among married women living with their husbands only one-third of the mothers with children under years, but half of the mothers with school-age children only, are workers. Among widows, divorcees and women separated from their husbands, however, nearly half (47%) of those with preschool children are workers. But if they have school-age children only, about two out of three of these women are in the labor force (Women's Bureau U.S.D.L. 1974). Recent estimates suggest these figures are conservative and that the trend continues, even though the economic situation has not been flourishing. (Women's Bureau U.S.D.L. 1976).

A married woman is more apt to be working if her husband's income is between $7,000 and $9,999; 49% of such women work. She is least apt to be working if her husband's income is below $5,000 or is $10,000 or over (37% and 41% respectively).

The saliency of occupational participation by women for potential rearrangement of sex role expectations has been noted in many researches. With the advent of married women, and mothers in particular, assuming full-time employment outside the home, major reallocation of energies takes place. When a woman shifts from full-time housework to full-time outside work, her talents are so drastically redistributed that both the family and the economic system are profoundly affected (Blood, 1965).

Realizing the technical level to which our recent workshops and current theory book writers have aspired, it is necessary to note that the approach in this paper might best be termed a network of ideas rather than a theory in a rigorous sense. It suggests a way to organize the analysis of research and policy both past and proposed to understand if the interplay between families and societies. Perhaps it can be tightened down and more general statement of propositions made when tested.

With this limitation in mind, returning to examining the strategic importance of occupation in sex role changes it is necessary to see some of the variation with the impressive shift of wives and mothers into the work place. The husband-father had been defined as breadwinner and negotiator with the economic sector, a larger scope for the wife-mother became possible if not probable. There is general agreement that a change from asymeterical male-female roles has occured concurrently with this employment change toward a less differentiated and unequal description of role content. However, some anomolies in the shift are apparent. Numerous studies over the years have not found major changes in time expended for housework for men and women when there is dual employment or dual career (Walker, 1976). Maintaining status differences in the husband's favor have been thought to be helpful in maintaining family stability and satisfaction even among the dual career marriages (Poloma and Garland, 1971, Epstein, 1971). Historically, the dual-work family is not new. Families once all lived and worked together on the farm and in guilds, but with the Industrial Revolution, the men and women left the home for industry. Epstein (1971) observes that women were excluded from roles which put them in competition with their

husbands. The woman's role was in the home with the children or in menial unskilled or homelike tasks in industry. Only those who could not find a husband maintained a career. Gradually, some women were allowed to maintain a career after marriage, but certainly not once pregnancy occurred. While Steinmetz (1974) has questioned the premise, it still is commonly believed that a man must be gainfully employed in order to be considered a good father, but a woman is considered a good mother if she does not have employment. Today most women are considering employment although the strain may be greater than if the woman stays out of the work force (Theodore, 1971). It appears that where choices appear possible, women make their educational, work and life style decisions around the preferences of husband, child rearing and child spacing patterns rather than in an equalitarian pattern of decision making. The research supporting this contention has been primarily with the dual-career family (Epstein, 1971 Poloma and Garland, 1971), Hoffman, 1963, 1961; Blood, 1966, 1963; Burr, 1973; Weil, 1971; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1969, 1971a, 1971b) where the wife's contribution is a a professional level. The extent to which women at other socio-economic levels also follow this pattern has been assumed to be high, but little empirical evidence is available. Hoffman (1973) has developed an analysis and review of employment of women, education, and fertility which points to the difficulties in teasing out the casualties and relationships.

Rapoport and Rapoport (1971c) feel it is important to differentiate between the terms "career" and "work". They define the dual-career family as when "both heads of household pursue careers and, at the same time, maintain a family life together." The career they identify as requiring a "higher degree of commitment and having a continuous asymmetrical developmental character," whereas, work is "any kind of gainful employment." They note that dual-worker families are more numerous than dual-career families. This may simply be an artifact of the economic system, but it may be accentuated by the processes necessary to maintain familial life under the stresses of present-day career expectations.

Role segregation and rigidity have been known to have varied by social-economic class. Bott (1957) noted the defined division of labor into male and female tasks which one comprised only at great risk to self-esteem. Rainwater (1965) documents the blue-collar or lower-middle-class as having a mixed model of roles tending toward rigidity and segregation.

Komorovsky (1961) suggests a curvilinear hypothesis according to socio-economic class which is supported in her research, "the greater the influence of the wife in lower socio-economic classes and higher rate of joint involement of young couples." Scanzoni (1971) develops a more complex relationship for black families with diverse reference groups and some tendency toward equalitarian assessment of roles and wife's work commitment.

In discussing the traditional family model of the working class, it is important to relate some information about the work of the blue-collar wife. Although the wife's working is often the difference between poverty and "making it," the jobs that they hold are often technically marginal. This is partially because of their lack of skills and education and partially becuase of legal, cultural and sociological barriers. "Women are restricted to a certain number of jobs and traces with common characteristics.

1. Women's work is unskilled or almost unskilled work calling for:
   a. great reislience
   b. manual desterity
2. Women's work is fragmented and purely operative.
3. Women's work is poorly paid.
4. Women's work involves no responsibilities."

(Gubbels, 1972).

Shostak (1969) suggests that a small but growing number of families in this population are adopting a less traditional, more modern family style. Communication and shared responsibility for decision-making may occur; at least in the early life cycle of the family.

Dual non-employment

While much attention has been given to families who have difficulty functioning in employment system and the family has received much abuse as the causative agent little comparative analysis in sex role changes has really been accomplished. In fact, some attribution of traditional sex role definitions to success has been assumed by some. (Moynihan, 1965). The underlying legislation for social programs to the poor and unemployed has a schizophrenic quality, on one hand encouraged the mother-wife to take any job available, on the other hand suggesting that she should be at home with her dependent children by the sanctions given. In contrast there is a comparison of welfare

departments in most cities with the polygemous husband in some primitive agricultural cultures who, having taken on a multitude of wives requires that they be utterly faithful to him and stay within his harem. The welfare department is a jealous taskmaster requiring that women and children take status placement from the welfare department and not have other men in their lives. This was commonly known as "the man in the house rule." (Kadushin, 1967). The fury over Moynihan's view of black family inadequacy, did note some value in sex role typing (Staples, 1971).

Other family forms

The interaction between men and women in terms of sex roles does not require the standard nuclear family of classical and modern mythology. Individuals of all ages may ally themselves with familial and quasi familial units of many sorts depending upon the saliency of the arrangement for their other activities. In fact, the utility of the family society interface for transfer of information and resources, may determine the strength of the individual's familial involvement.

In figure I the diagram shows that while we may use "The Family" as a general summarizing term the interface of interest here is really that of specific families making contact with different sectors of the society with specific interchanges.

Demographers and students of the family have a basic problem in terms of level of abstraction to be used. For example, one may talk of trends in fertility as a major social phenomena, but in the end it is individual women who do or do not have babies. One attempts to see if the process is the same, but the content differs for families of different characteristics located in differing positions in the social structure or some intermediate of the two.

The short review of the diversity of family occupational participation presented here suggests that the opportunities for sex role shifts in the family may be similar, but the messages from the work place may differ. In variant family forms there may also be different opportunities for sex role arrangements.

Several analogies have been used to characterize the general relationship between family and society. The biological approach has been that of a semi-permable membrane. With ideas and things passing back and forth between the larger social "body" and the familial cell." Thus, family members perceptions and attitudes filtered available social precepts and the society rewarded or punished familial performance. The physics analogy drew upon the relative simplicity of the two-body problem versus other structures and focused on the marital dyad and other dyads to be explained. Computer simulation has allowed for the possibility of feedback and interaction effect, but has tended to emphasize linear relationships. The rather strong critique of the research using the family only as a dependent variable has also drawn attention to interaction and feedback. (Blood, 1972)

Exchange theory and concepts borrowed from economics theories have indicated that individual family members may have special functions in mediating between the family and other institutions. For example, this idea has been well received in the health field and the "brokerage" role for family members and/or those assisting the family has been seen as crucial in a complex medical-health delivery system.

Analogies to other social change phenomena have also been common. There are several parallels to the integration experience that have been developed for women's movement (Duberman, 1975). Comparisons to the adoption of technology (i.e., hybrid seed corn) have shown that there may be subcategories of families or family members who have a different position in the flow of new ideas and their experimental trial. The study of attitudes and behavior in many other subjects has indicated that care must be taken not to assume the order in which these two concepts are related. The use of change of behavior to affect attitude has become an established change technique. The consciousness raising process as a means for opening paths for information and change has been a major impetus for the growth of the Black women's elderly, and Indian groups.

Over twenty years ago Parson, Bales and colleagues (1955: Chapter Two) proposed to unify structural-functional and Neo-Freuden theory to apply to the analysis of the American family. It seems to have become a comfortable way to analyze families, perhaps because the model fits the shape of the culture so well, and the current behavior at that time (Pitts, 1964: 63,74). The implicit values are less comfortable today. Theories of human development or social structure

have in many cases been built on concepts which suggest stability as important or necessary. Zimmerman's classic analogy of present family "disorganization" as paralleling the downfall of empires or Parson's view of the family roles of husband and wife as instrumental and expressive illustrate views which posit homestatis rather than a moving equilibrium as preferable (Zimmerman, 1972; Parsons, 1955). Some of the maternal deprivation studies have developed theory which assumed male and female responsibilities in the society as basically fixed without thorough examination of these assumptions (Rutter, 1972). Certainly conflicts between so-called "scientific" or rational processes and more existentialist or Gestaldt approach illustrate a possible structure on openness to new utopias. Economic, political and religious institutions also maintain systems of belief which impinge on any view of change in male and female roles. These is evidence however, that the family is major variable for industrialization and economic change (Goode, 1963).

The opposite kind of thinking does appear in the anthropologist's caomparison of primitive societies with complex industrial societies. In general, the industrial revolution, or the coming of further development to backward nations, has meant a wider range of choice for individuals rather than a narrower one, (Nimkoff, 1965) because a wider variety of occupational skills is necessary to fulfill an industrial society's need of education and vocational skill, are transmitted through formal institutions and no longer limited to the knowledge and skills held by family and kin. As the labor market diversifies, new occupations emerge resulting in still greater choices of roles. (U.S.D.L., 1965).

From the standpoint of an individual person, his or her position in a social system has opportunities and limitations for social action which carry with it an implicit calculation for costs and benefits which may be extended to include these significant others, as that individual perceives the other's views. The perspective of an individual in a family unit attempting to evaluate the impact of social change relative to sex roles as it alters the constraints in the cost-benefit analysis, is necessary to consider. The interaction of family members, their sharing or lack of sharing of values, and their resources may contribute to the individual's own access to the possible change in sex roles. The participation in the change itself has reciprocities for the rest of the family members. The role changes may cause a new equilibrium in the family or lead to change in the actual family units membership.

The family, as a unit, has boundaries and mechanisms for accessing the larger society's ideas, technologies, opportunities and resources. Individuals may be actors for themselves or for the unit. Such terms as "breadwinner" are used to identify members as representative of the unit for certain functions in linking the family to the larger social enterprise.

From the standpoint of the larger social institutions, families and their individual members are participants, clients, employees, communicants, volunteers, sponsors, patients, students, etc. In the United States most institutions related primarily to individuals although they may have a litany of commentary on the whole family as the appropriate unit of concern.[1]

When there is a change in the culture, such as the general trend toward more flexible sex role definitions, the social institutions do not adopt the supports for such changes at an equal rate. Several mechanisms are available for accelerating or slowing the adoption of the idea. One of the key strategies for change in sex roles in the twentieth century has been through the use of the legal mandate.

Mandated sex role changes may vary from small changes in an organization's employment policies to major revisions in a country's constitution. The use of the term "mandate" here, is to convey the connotation that these social changes in sex roles are in the formal procedures rather than in the informal normative order. The amount of coerciveness and enforcement accompanying such formal normative statements varies greatly depending on the source of the change, the formal sanctions developed, the enforcement procedures, and the role of the individual in assessing the norm's content. Nevertheless, mandated social change does carry with it an organized attempt to move the costs and benefits to the individual and group toward a positive decision to conform to the change. The informal norms may lead, follow, concur or lag behind the formal changes. Other sanctions which support, ignore, or contradict the mandated change are in process at the same time.

[1] Although there is some movement toward analyzing social programs and legislation for probable impact on families, this has not been a common practice in the past in our country.

When the informal normative order is markedly different or more varied than the mandated change, the salience of the individual's reference group to analyzing costs and benefits is increased. If one is an active member of the social movement, and friends and family participate, the conflict with those who oppose change is not lessened, but its meaning is well changed. Thus, a women's liberation group leader might well avail herself of a new policy or law even though enforcement procedures were slow or uncertain and informal negative sanctions were high because of the group support available.

Some of the positive consequences of mandated change for women and men in sex role related items:

1) Equal access to the policy is available because the informal norms and sanctions require being included in the social network or "the old boy" club.
2) Reduction in personal and familial risk taking is obtained because the options are clearer and the costs are more obvious.
3) Variation in enforcement is reduced - because records are kept and regulatory bodies are instituted.
4) Incongruities of policies are identified and can be alleviated.
5) Support for changes in informal norms may be generated by the experience provided by the formal policy.

Mandated change may cause consequences which are dysfunctional to accomplishing sex role flexibility.

1) Negative interest groups such as Stop E.R.A. may be mobilized.
2) Confrontation and adversary or legatious relationships can develop. i.e. - Some universities have spent more fighting the suits than the projected life-time earnings of the complainants (in affirmative action cases).
3) The appearance of compliance may hide continuing malpractice, when records do not isolate all important factors.
4) High time costs to administer and access policy may occur for the individual, the family, the societal institution.
5) Energy diversion of opinion leaders in process of generating policy and enforcement can occur. (i.e., a person pursuing a law suit is not likely to pursue the Nobel prize).

Table II illustrates the hypothesized utility of formal and informal processes for shaping changing sex roles.

In appendix A three case studies are shown to illustrate the analysis. Other case studies have been developed showing other aspects. As formal evaluation of such programs as affirmative action are forthcoming, these hypotheses can be further tested.

The focus of this appraisal is on the family/society interface, however individuals must also be considered. In many situations the individual has the option of dealing directly with the social institution as an individual or using his/her familial tie as the appropriate identification. With the common view of the family as non-equalitarian in mature equalitarian norms may tend to support individual action, with familial impact as a secondary characteristic. The individual can mediate the societal/family interface by carrying the information back and forth.

To diagram sex role change from the individual's perspective (Figure I) shows it in the perspective of choices in life style in general.

[Insert Figure I]

In figure II, section 1 on role (figure I) is detailed for a simple cost-benefit analysis from a fairly traditional statement of likely consequences. Each section can be developed in a similar way with reference to those items relating to sex roles or other points of interface. The general point made here is that ther are costs and benefits to larger or smaller realms of choice for the individual and family.

In the case of institutional attempts to alter the costs and benefits balance for the familial and/or individual those processes which capit lize present actions and require least energy to activate should have a greater probability of success with majority. Those processes, which require conversion experiences and high dedication, will reach the few, (see Table II). In table III four mechanisms are detailed to show they may be used by both families and society to mediate the interface.

[Insert Figure II]

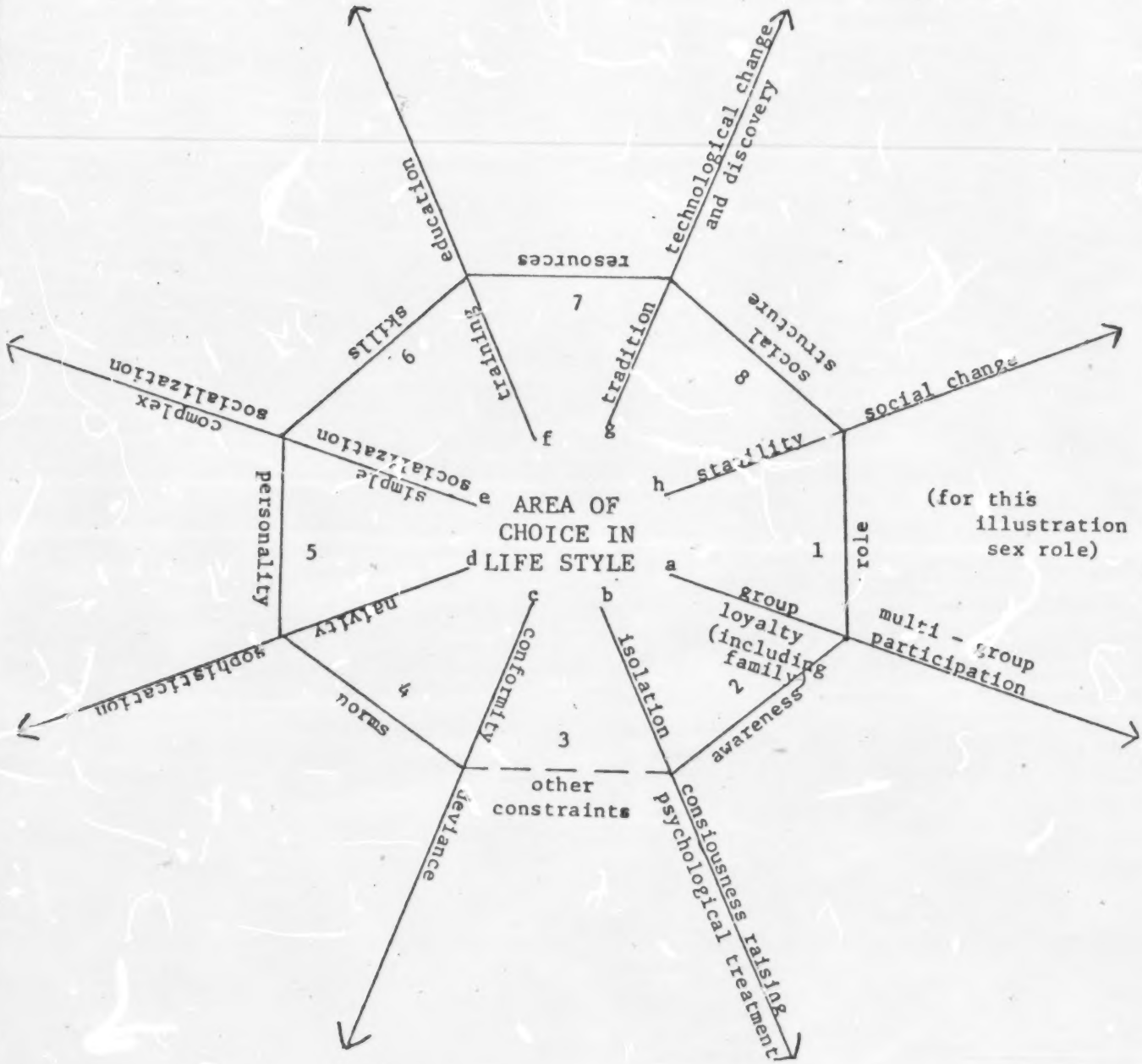
TABLE II

A Comparison of the Utility of Formal & Informal Processes in Shaping Changing Sex Roles

Situations	Formal Processes	Informal Processes
1) The stakes are high:	Hi	Lo
-survival: professional, personal dignity, familial unity		
-many people have the problem	Hi	Lo
2) The person and family are strong		
-mentally	Hi	Lo
-physically	Hi	Lo
3) Group support is available		
-social	Hi	Lo
-monetary	Hi	Lo
-agency	Hi	Lo
4) The institution is strongly resisting change	Hi	Lo
5) The emotional state of the individual is:		
-unrelenting anger	Hi	Lo
-depressed	Lo	Hi
-mixed	Lo	Hi
6) The issue, although relevant, is not crucial	Lo	Hi
7) The individual has an idiosyncratic grievance	Lo	Hi
8) The person and family are unable to handle long strain:		
-physical	Lo	Hi
-emotional	Lo	Hi
9) There are influential people who have resources to apply	Lo	Hi
10) The institution desires to comply	Lo	Hi

Figure I

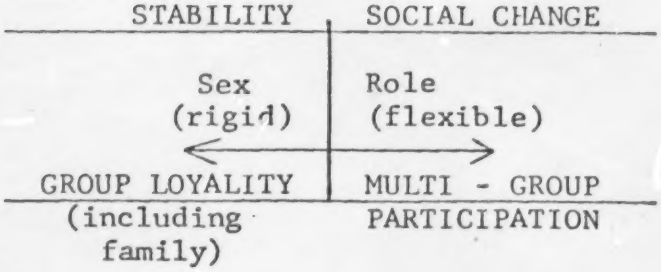
A DIAGRAM OF CHOICES IN LIFESTYLE FROM THE INDIVIDUAL AND FAMILIES PERSPECTIVE



The cross bars indicate movable or variable states.
The spokes suggest processes for affecting the states; the direction of greater choice moving outward on the spokes.

Figure II

Illustration From Lifestyle Choices With Reference To Costs and Benefits



Freedom benefits -
a.) personal growth
b.) opportunity for individuality
c.) self-actualization
d.) responsibility

Constraint benefits -
a.) simplicity
b.) predictability
c.) ease of relating within the structure
d.) group support

Moving the barrier to freedom via social change and multi-group participation costs:
a.) anomie
b.) generation gap
c.) insecurity
d.) communication break-down
e.) complexity

Moving toward rigid roles via stability and group loyality costs:
a.) loss of freedom
b.) loss of social mobility
c.) boredom

TABLE III

Mechanisms to Bridge Between Specific Families and Social Institutions

	Family	Society
Brokerage	1. an individual or individuals may develop skills in finding and relating to appropriate institutional supports	1. institutions may train and appoint brokers to relate to families or individuals i.e., social workers, hotlines, public health nurses, lawyers, doctors
	2. family representatives may form interest groups to deal with institutions i.e., P.T.A.	2. institutions may attempt to bring families or individuals together as populations to be handled as groups i.e., community organization
		3. information, propaganda, advertising and other outreach to the brokers in each family
Participation	1. individuals from the family become involved in other institutions i.e., go to school or out to work	1. becoming involved with family i.e., family therapy or parent support groups
Isolation/and/or Privacy	1. families may withdraw from institutions which threaten their equilibrium, subcultural group such as Amish, alternative education, etc.	1. barriers for participation or brokerage from families can be made to exclude some types of families and/or individuals i.e., referral required by a doctor; records confidentiality

TABLE III

(CONTINUED)

	Family	Society
Isolation/and/or Privacy (Cont)	2. families may evade institutional norms by use of closed doors etc. i.e., child abuse, wife beating	
Incentives Disincentives	1. families evaluate the impact of the changes for themselves	1. the institution may simply change their mandates
	2. familial behavior may change requiring institutional response i.e., proportion of women in work force	2. families can change the institutions costs - benefits eqilibrium by behavior requiring evaluation

Brokerage

The terms, broker and brokerage, are used in the context of this discussion to indicate the special role which both families and other institutions may create to specifically deal with interaction between social institutions. In a complex society knowledge of the potential resources and ideas which an individual could use is difficult to obtain. Information overload is one strain. The indexing and accesses are complex and often in technical language. There is a long standing belief that "no one knows your problems better than you" and "no one cares as much as you." In a miriade of problem areas these homilies are true. The family may, however, serve this role of broker for the individual. For example, the health care of a dependent child is almost wholly at the mercy of the values and sophistication of family members. A diversity of health care is available even for the poorest family, if a family member can make a meaningful contact with the health delivery system. Apparently the most useful contact is ordinarily with another institution who can make a referral. In the situation of sex role change such brokers as affirmative action offices, job hot lines, and guidance counselors have been used. Families have, for example, tapped the skills of teenagers in relating to educational institutions when mother wants to return to school for updating job skills. While in a tradional rather stable society, brokers may be designated and identified by ascription, in a society where complexity and change are the mode, knowledge and skill, and assertiveness may be more important determinants of the brokers.

Participation

A participant can be a good broker but may or may not have the large picture of resources and range of possibilities. Being involved with a family in a participatory manner is a risky enterprise for an institution. In most cases the institution does not have the capability for long term total responsibility for the family or its individuals. At best such participation is a therapeutic interval or an intensive educational experience which has some built-in closure. At worst, the institutional interaction breaks down the familial boundaries without achieving some new organizational level. The participation of a family member can provide information, resources, skills, awareness, etc., which allow more area of choice, or it may reinforce more rigid definitions of role. For example, while dress codes appear to be a thing of the past, a reactionary ploy of the sixties, there are still many instances in the economic institutions where very specific dress

expectations are enforced along sex-age role lines. Participants in such activites can emerge embittered about the rigidity, pleased to have met expectations and ready to enforce them or simply unaware. In contrast when the participation is in a situation supportive to flexible sex roles it contributes to change positively. Consciousness raising and other educational ventures linked with participation may have positive influence for equilatarion sex roles.

Isolation and/or Privacy

It has been interesting to see that many of the changes in the occupational world which are related to sex roles have been in the area of breaking down private communication networks within institutions and between influential families. This mechanism does have some strong support in the value system for both general institutions and the institution of the family. When mandated change requires intrusion into the "sacred" privacy of the home that alone can be the point of resistance. Institutions can also enforce privacy. The exclusively men's club for lunch is one women came across in the occupational scene. With families institutions frequently maintain their boundaries by elaborate application forms and the demand for referrals and recommendations. It is quite clear that the mechanism of isolation may be used to reduce contact between certain families and certain institutions. This reduction can be initiated by either family or institution or both.

Incentives

Carrots and sugar cubes can come from either side of the interface as well as strictures and slaps. There are some limitations to the manipulation of these mechanisms for possible change. Questions fo equity in terms of family may be quite differently answered for individuals. Enforcement of the new pattern of incentives or disincentives may not be simply achieved. Certainly, norms of evasion are not unknown, in many areas of human endeaver and the long time winner of sex role discrimination may not be undermined easily. Those incentives or disincentives which have quick, sure consequences are likely to be most effective. The life time of institutions is usually somewhat longer than individual families; especially as family life cycle variables are concerned. It is difficult to keep up interest in preschool day care reform when your

children are needing after school care or alternatives to Little League. Many legal schedules simply overwhelm families and prevent their use. For example, in examining foster care and adoption procedures one of the clear escapes for children is simply to grow up. By the time, some questions of equity fot the child and family may be decided legally, they are simply not relevant to that family. The family, as institution, may gain some overall change, out of the use of test cases, but usually isolated family units rarely benefit directly from participation in enforcement procedures they initiate.

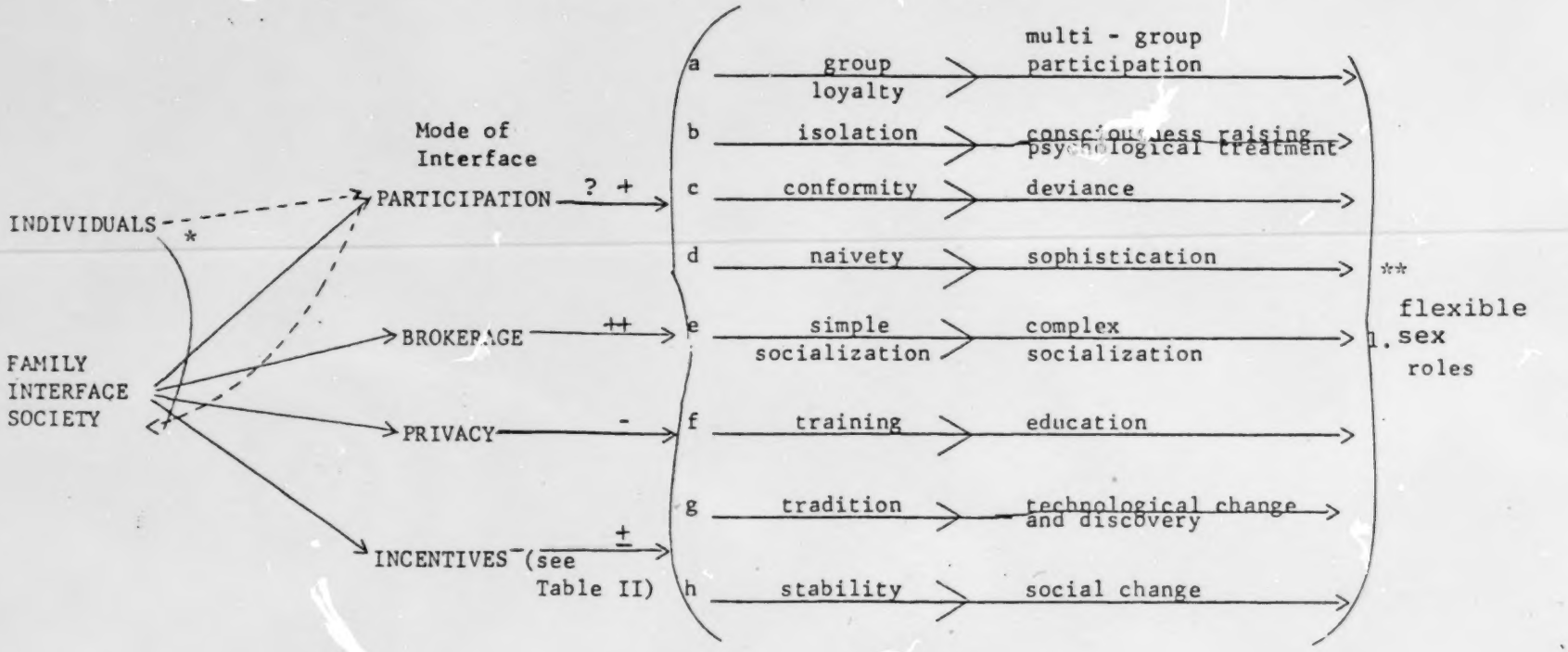
Effects of Modes of Interface

In figure III the outcome variable of flexible sex roles is shown in relationship to the possible effects which the various modes of action on the interface between family and society may have on the processes which appear to accentuate flexible role definitions. This diagram is probably not exhaustive of either modes or processes related to flexibility of roles, however it does suggest some useful propositions for testing either by available research findings or by social program experimentation. Social policy implementation does not have the neatness of research design, but in relationship to this topic - sex roles - much direct intervention is already being attempted between family and social institutions. Therefore, it is possible to use these attempts to clarify propositions and feedback into policy formation.

Figure III indicates the general case for looking at the transactions between families and social institutions. In the introduction, it was suggested that occupation was particularly salient for this particular problem at the present time. Other areas, such as education, leasure, and religion, are also highly involved in the outcomes of sex role definition. The drama in the field of occupation has been that broader participation in the economic institutions by both spouses has changed the ascription to the husband of breadwinner and broker with the system. While many families may still maintain the traditional sex role content, the opportunity for flexibility becomes realizable. When the occupational and governmental structure actually changes the costs and benefits ever so slightly to provide incentives for flexible sex roles the participation in that arena can become more radical in consequences.

A careful theoretical and practical evaluation is needed for those who would attempt to guide social policy and suggest when mandated change related to sex roles is useful. Formal changes in policies or laws require much effort by change agents and groups, so the pay-offs should be clear. Incentives for sex role flexibility have not, as yet, been equally distributed to all types of familial participation in occupation. The dual-unemployment family may find many traditional sex role incentives when attempting to relate to occupational institutions. The dual-career family may find a curvilinear set of incentives, with encouragement lessening as the top of the upper middle class structure is approached by the family.

Figure III - Effect of Mode of Interface on
Social Processes which Support Flexible Sex Roles



*by-pass of family as appropriate unit of interface may be linked to direct individual participation in social institutions, but does not seem to affect the direction of the relationships.

**probably would hold for other constraints in Figure II in same way

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APPENDIX A

THREE CASE ANALYSES

I. Mandated Change: Completed

- Maternity leave for faculty members at a large university instituted.
  Previous formal norm - none.
  Previous informal norm - usually no one asked to stay; one faculty member decided to remain and administrator had to make up policy as they went.

Concurrent Larger Social Climate:

- judicial rulings suggested that maternity leave was a right of women employees
- the state was required to give maternity leave to public school teachers
- union organized at university
- national government enforcement of affirmative action

Ease of Access to Enforcement

- moved from only known about informally to officially published
- faculty appear satisfied that the policy is in fact available easily and without harrassment

Use of Policy

- has gone up markedly especially among staff members who are the largest number of women employed at the university

Cost-Benefit to Individual and Family

- choices available: short "sick" leave - 1 year unpaid leave
- part time appointment possible
- lack of policy articulating to promotion and tenure policy means individual bears the risk of not having enough productivity if she uses reduced load concept
- lack of on-site day care reduces option to work and nurse

- familial interests appear to be the primary values for the individual's choice
- any choice results in low cost to university

Assessment of Value of the Mandated Change

- highly worthwhile to woman
- standardized opportunity maintains degree of individual flexibility
- useful to organization in reducing administrative decision making costs
- accentuates familial and individual choices

II. Mandated Change: In Progress

- affirmative action hiring and retention of women and minorities
- previous formal norm - none
- previous informal norms - varied but mostly a "gentleman's agreement" to favor white male condidates by searching where they are found

Concurrent Larger Social Climate

- judicial rulings granting damages and relief to complainants
- governmental policy changes on funding
- economic hard times reducing job expansion in higher education
- large numbers of qualified applicants
- women's movement rising
- black movement in state of flux

Ease of Access of Enforcement

- on the surface appears easy: affirmative action officer on each campus, regional and national agency concerned
- American Association of University Professors and other professional groups have officially backed the enforcement
- judgments have been gotten for women and minorities
- in actual practice where women have sought to use the process at other institutions, the time frame is long and tedious and the informal harrassment is high
- the remediation of reinstatement may be a punishment for the victorious woman

- expense is not high when government takes case, if private groups are needed, may not be available easily, i.e., American Association of University Professors, American Civil Liberties Union
- many informal holding strategies being used by institutions, affirmative action officers continually must monitor to catch even the most obvious irregularities

Use of Policy

- such high complaint level that United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is not able to process all
- U.S.D.H.E.W. has tried to drop individual complaint process
- locally affirmative action officer works primarily in hiring practices, high level of interaction needed
- independent law suits filed

Cost-Benefit to Individual and Family

- emotional cost of legation
- emotional cost o f initiation
- financial cost of being underemployed or unemployed during legation
- time costs

Assessment of Value of Mandated Change

- without it - no action at all
- with it - slow and reluctant compliance - high cost to individual to use formal enforcement route

III. Mandated Change: Suggested

- Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution:
  Present formal norm - a variety of judicial interpretations leaning toward equal rights but having odd and inconsistent exceptions.
  Present informal norms - large portion of population favors traditional sex role stereotype but equal pay for equal work; strong social movement among an articulate minority for equal rights.

Concurrent Social Climate

- many states have ratified
- several small, articulate, traditional groups see much damage from such an amendment and are lobbying against it
- several large groups attempting to coordinate support but not all in agreement about its purposes and utility

Ease of Access of Enforcement

- impact of constitutional amendment clear to judicial policy simplifies legation
- implications vast, many unknown
- informal persuasion techniques may become more effective so recourse to legation not as necessary
- formal enforcement will be expensive unless supporting policies adopted by institutions and government